

## THE LIBERATOR:

PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY,

at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 25 Cornhill.

Henry W. Williams, General Agent:

"Nominal abolition by law does not make such a thing certain. When Paul Revere descended, even then he had argued that the law was not enough, and this point of truth on the part of the gong, in converting, at the whole."

The figure of Christians in church, in story yet remain, out of the old lesson, the for which

at the permission. Where? In own experiments we find the world. And those who say that there is no church discipline main-

tainants—Judge

the ex-slave and the master, to be drawed. In the case of false proprie-

ties? Censur-

ed, can not be

reduced to secede?

No. If not in pa-

rticular, the admissi-

on, in the first

churches out are permitted

to secede.

Then our Senators in Congress are instruc-

tions requested, to oppose

the annexation of Texas to this Union.

To instruct our Senators, and request our

representatives in Congress, to use their influ-

ence to prevent the re-ap-

pearance of all laws, orders and

ordinances, which directly or indirectly implicate

slaves, or sustain slavery, which infringe the

right of petition, or the freedom of speech,

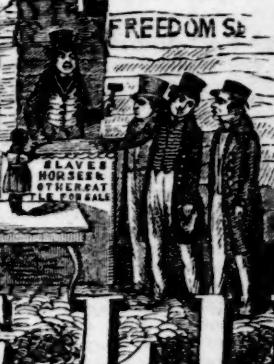
etc., and to prevent the enactment of such

ordinances, as the adoption of such rules, orders, &c., in

upon this subject, of February, 1793, enacted by a Congress convened soon after the adoption of the Constitution, and composed of many members who assisted in framing that instrument, and who must of course have understood its meaning, makes no provision for the arrest and delivery of the fugitive, but simply points out the kind of tribunal before which the adjudication shall be had. Again, Congress has, from the first organization of the government, used the inferior executive powers of the States, for carrying into effect this, as well as the other powers bestowed upon them by the Constitution; and their right so to do, has not been called in question.

What, then, we repeat, is the request? Your committee can view it in no other light than a request to propose the dissolution of the Union—that Union for which our fathers fought, and bled, and died—that Union which secures to us all the social blessings, and civil liberty which make this country so pre-eminently above all the other countries, blessed and happy; the asylum of the oppressed, the sanctuary of liberty. The heart recoils at the idea; the hand refuses further to entertain it; the hand pauses in the attempt to record it.

Your committee would, therefore, report legislation up in any and all of the above named subjects, expedient.



## THE LIBERATOR

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD--OUR

BOSTON, FRIDAY,

WILLIAM GARRISON, Editor.

REFUGE OF OPPRESSION.

MAINE LEGISLATURE.

Reports of the Committee on Slavery.

Petition of John Godfrey and others, also sundry petitions upon the same subject, having attended the day, as leave respectfully to the

Senate, and the arrest, detention, of any person

and the release of any description, within this state, holding or detaining any alleged fugitive from

any of the States, in any way, to any officer, or

or Representative requested, to oppose

the annexation of Texas to this Union.

To instruct our Senators, and request our

representatives in Congress, to use their influ-

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ordinances, which directly or indirectly implicate

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The marshal of a State is empowered to serve all process, and to command all requisite assistance of State officers, in the execution of his duty. And has not Congress, whose creature the marshal is, the same power? The sheriff and every other officer of this State is under oath to support the Constitution of the United States, as well as of this State. And can they be prohibited from obeying laws necessary to that support, and punished for so doing? Certainly not.

The act of Congress, Sept. 24, 1789, provides that the arrest of offenders against the United States may be made through the justices or other magistrates of a State, or through the use of the mode of procedure in such State.

The laws of New-York have provided for the arrest of fugitives from service on a writ of habeas corpus, (Vol. I, page 405.) We may then consider it a point established by the terms of the compact itself, by long established and undisputed usage, by legal enactments of the States themselves, that Congress has the power to use the justices and other magistrates of the State, for the arrest and securing of fugitives from service, and that no legislation by the States can destroy that power.

It is, however, a point settled by judicial decisions, that in order to carry that, as well as all other powers granted in the Constitution into effect, Congress must enact laws directing the manner in which it is to be carried into effect, and that until such laws are enacted, the State may prohibit its officers from acting in the premises. In relation to the arrest of fugitives, the discharge from such service, but shall be delivered up, on claim to wages to whom such service or labor may be due.

The petitioners contend that the delivering up is required, and the requisition of the Constitution, with which the claimant is in agreement, and that the same proposition, that is, to prohibit the discharge of this State from assisting in the case of fugitive slaves.

The Constitution of the United States, article 4th, 5th, provides that no person held to service, or to labor, under the laws thereof, escaping into another State, shall, in consequence of any regulations therein, be discharged from such service, but shall be delivered up, on claim to wages to whom such service or labor may be due.

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From the New World.

**Venial Politicians.**

The Assembly, during the last week, at the hour of midnight, a fitting season for a deed so dastard, passed to a third reading the bill repealing the law which secures to persons claimed as slaves, trial by jury; and as it is a party measure, the Senate will probably follow suit.

We are glad that the eyes and noses were taken upon the question. As was observed by a member, the day before coming when they will be remembered. Time is the old justic that examines all offenders; and he will consign the repealers of the very law to a well-merited and eternal infamy. They acted with their eyes open—they trampled not on right without a warning. Eloquent defenders of the Constitution defended the sacrifice, and the able minority report of Mr. Warren taught them that they were violating principles recognized for ages, and were esteeming their own freemen of less value than Virginia slaves.

The utter worthlessness of our leading politicians—the entire want of principle frequently exhibited in their acts—the selfishness, hypocrisy and baseness which characterize the party movements of the day, may well discourage the true-hearted lover of his country; may well shake the confidence of the warmest supporters of Democracy in the virtue of the people. An act like that which we have been considering is a striking instance of political depravity, and its influence reaches much further than the superficial observer would be apt to imagine. By uprooting from men's minds the oldest principles of justice and freedom, implanted in boyhood, and substituting in their stead the wretched doctrine of expediency, before which Truth itself must bow submissively, it prepares the way for crimes which grow only in a rank soil; it sows the seeds of corruption, of which the next generation may pluck the bitter fruit. The oppression of the colored people, humble and insignificant as they may be, cannot be perpetrated with impunity. Nature herself revolts at injustice, and the hand of Providence will undoubtedly visit it with retribution. Look at Imperial Rome, queen of nations, mistress of the world, and see the devastating influence of misgovernment and tyranny. Glance at Sicily, sinking into decay, while her inhabitants mourned the loss of the old dominion of Carthage; and listen to the language of the Roman orator: "All our provinces are in tears; all free people have complained against us; and lastly, all kings remonstrate against our cruelty and our injustice. There are, however, remote, or concealed, within the expanse of the ocean, whether the report of the iniquity and licentiousness of our men has not extended. In these times, the Roman people can no longer bear the burden—not of the violence or war of other nations—but of their wretchedness, their tears, their complaints and execrations."—*Cicero in Verres IV. 9.*

Look onward to a later period, and we find the title of a Roman citizen, once so proudly claimed even by an apostle, become a term of reproach and scorn, when the ruins of the mighty empire that had dazzled the world, presented the picture of decay—her slavery a habit, and her liberty an accident! As often as the victorious barbarians, the Franks or the Lombards, wished to express their most bitter contempt of a foe, they called him 'a Roman'! "In this name," says the Bishop Lintrupt, "we include whatever is base, whatever is cowardly, whatever is perfidious; the existence of avarice and luxury, and every vice that can prostitute the dignity of human nature."

We commend the picture for the contemplation of those who, trampling on the Constitution, would snatch from our colored people the right of trial by jury—as the counterpart of one whose dark forewarning already dims the brightness of our country's horizon. And let each member of that majority, whose recorded votes, for tyranny shall hand down their names to infamy, when the lips that uttered them are dust—let each individual member, when he first hears of some wretched victim of his cruel legislation torn from a free home by the hand of the kidnapper—when the wail of the wife whom ruthless hands have made a widow, or the groans of a husband for the lost partner of his bosom, or the lamentation of a household for a stolen brother or sister, burst from his ears, let him feel that it is his work—to let sink deep into his soul—it let it come to him at the midnight hour, when the deed was done—let it disturb his repose, and trouble his dreams—for he is the originator of that outrage, the author of that wrong; and truly says the maxim of the Common Law, "Plus peccat author quam actor."

*This filia in omnibus. False to their principles, once, they are worthy of confidence no longer. The right they have disregarded is the fundamental right to freedom. The truth they have denied, is, in the language of our Declaration of Independence, "self-evident," like the fixed stars of heaven, the form and magnitude of which are the same for the naked eye of the shepherd, as for the telescope of the sage.*

Of the results to follow the repeal of the jury law, in the increase of the American slave trade, we may form some idea from a picture drawn by Mr. Justice Story, of the African trade. "We have too many negroes," proclaims his language, "from unexceptionable sources, that is, those carried on with all the ignoble ferocity, in the spirit of rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasion, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are sterner to their very mouths. (I scarcely use too bold a figure) in this strain of iniquity."

Let us see what rights and powers are conferred on every claimant of a person, as his fugitive slave, by the highest judicial tribunal of the land. The Supreme Court of the United States, in the words of Chief Justice Taney, in the late case of *Prigg vs. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, have decided, that "the master has a right peaceably to take possession of him, and carry him away without any certificate, or warrant from a Judge of the District or Circuit Court of the United States, or from any magistrate of the State. Whoever seizes or obstructs him, is a wrong doer." The writ of *habeas corpus* is suspended, and the free citizen of New-York, without a shadow of protection from his native State, is hurried into bondage.

Mr. Justice McLean, in reply, said, (16 Peters, R. 668.) "If a master has the right to seize and remove the slave without claim, he can commit no breach of the peace by using all the force necessary to accomplish the object." And Mr. Justice Baldwin, (in Johnson vs. Tompkins and others, 1 Baldwin, R. 577,) used the following remarkable language—"It is not breach of the peace to use as much force or coercion toward the fugitive as suffice for his security; as without such force no slave can be retained. The master may also use every act, device, or stratagem to decoy the slave into his power. Ondous as these may be in their application to an odious act, they ought to be considered as for otherwise when used for a lawful and justifiable purpose."

And now let us ask, what rights will remain to the colored people of the North? According to the Supreme Court, none worth the name; but by the law of nature, all that belong to man. Deists that believe in the common law, *Sicut populus regnum est*; and that other fundamental principle, that "allegiance and protection are reciprocal;" the State is about to deny to them the right for which our ancestors both here and in England contended. *Trial by Jury* and *Habeas Corpus*, which the Constitution of the United States expressly declares shall not be suspended; and all persons thus deprived of the advantages intended to be secured by the social compact, are thrown back upon their natural, inherent, and inalienable rights. While we regard with respect the scruples of the Friends and non-resistants, we hold the defence of sacred rights to be a sacred duty; and as we doubt not there are hundreds of our colored people who, with the true spirit of American citizens, respond with their whole souls to the cry of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death!" We command to their attention the following passage from that eminent jurist, Chancellor Kent, which they may rest satisfied is law not to be overthrown, even by the dicta of Justice Baldwin and his associates. "The municipal law of our own, as well as of every other country, has left with individuals the exercise of the natural right of self-defence, in all those cases where the law is either too feeble or too slow to stay the hand of violence. *Homicide is justifiable in every case, in which it is rendered necessary, in self-defence, against the person who comes to commit a known felony with force against one's persons, habitation or property, or against the person or property of those who stand in near domestic relations.* The right of self-defence in these cases is founded on the law of nature, and is not, and cannot be superseded by the law of society."

P. S. We leave with the deepest satisfaction, that

ix. Gibson 143.

The author of a crime is more guilty than the immediate perpetrator.

Coleridge.

the Legislature have adjourned before the infamous bill had passed the Senate. The right laid down in the Declaration of Independence, as Webster said in his late speech, "Stood and stand, and *ALWAYS WILL STAND*," and those who voted to annihilate *trial by jury and habeas corpus*, in a question of liberty and slavery, may retire to their homes covered with infamy, and thankful that their power was not equal to their malice.

From the Journal of Commerce.

**The Right of Search.**

MESSES. EDITORS :

As you all, of the city Journalists, appear to take a reasonable and common sense view of the British claim to the 'right of visit.' I beg to call your attention to the fact, extensively published in the papers for a week past, of a Spanish slaver, on the south side of Cuba, having been chased, overhauled, boarded and examined, [or searched, as the hatches appear to have been opened, and the cargo ascertained,] by the American sloop of war Vincennes; thus exhibiting the singular and glaring inconsistency of a U. S. cruiser exercising towards the vessels of other nations a right not granted to them by treaty, and which the British government itself expressly disclaims under the same circumstances: a right, too, which the U. S. utterly refuses to recognize on the part of Great Britain, or in fact even to reciprocate with that or any other power. And yet, if the vessel visited had been an American, and the cruiser a British vessel, we should doubtless have been stung with clamorous invectives against "British annoyance," "British insolence," and the atrocious "outrage" on our flag. If you, or any of your correspondents, can furnish a justification of this proceeding on the *principles assumed and maintained by the American government on this very question*, I for one should be curious to see it. If not, the false position in which this country has placed itself, either by her avowed doctrines on the one hand, or her practice (as in the instance alluded to) on the other, is so obvious, that I marvel it has not invited the comments of, at least, your able and candid pen.

We had noted the occurrence as inviting comments similar to the above, and should have anticipated our correspondent in making them, but for the crowded state of our columns for a day or two past by reason of the foreign news and other matters which could not be deferred. The most particular statement of the occurrence which we have seen, is contained in a letter from an officer of the Vincennes, which we find in the Savannah Georgian, dated March 5th. The following is an extract:

"We now crossed over to the South side of Cuba, and first entered the Gran river, where we found some bush, but the inhabitants fled as we approached. Joining the 1st lieutenant, we made our way along the Mangrove Islands, and finally sighted an old fisherman asleep in his hut. The old fellow seemed to have no doubt, that we were pirates ourselves, but I openly showed my heart, by some presents, and he directed us to a small town farther West. On clearing the river, we saw a suspicious looking sail, bearing down for us. We rapidly neared, until the vessel, seeing the cutter and launch in my wake, were round and stood off, under a press of sail, at the same time casting off a small sloop she had in tow. This we soon came up to, and took possession of. The men in her informed us that the chase was a slave, well armed, and full of negroes. We pressed on in pursuit, and were soon alongside. The crew of the slaves were anxious to resist, but their captain would not consent—much to our regret—for then she would have been a prize; besides the escort of the thing, that is, 'for those who got over it.' Lt. Wainwright had hoisted a few minutes before we reached her, but before he got along side, a Spanish custom-house boat had boarded the slaver, and the officers (though doubtless connivers in the trade, and only using their names to cover the prize) hoisted the Spanish flag, and claimed the vessel as under the Spanish authorities. Notwithstanding, we demanded, and examined the papers, and finding them all correct, we were compelled to declare the vessel free to pursue her course. Had she fired a gun, we could have seized her, but there was no excuse for capture, and we gave her up. She was a beautiful brigantine of 242 tons, mounted one long 12 pounder, with abundance of small arms for her crew, of 43 men, and stout looking fellows they were. She had left St. Thomas on the coast of Africa, with 550 slaves, of whom 34 had died, 2 jumped overboard in drowning; had been at sea 22 days. *Azores*—*in this filia in omnibus.* False to their principles, once, they are worthy of confidence no longer. The right they have disregarded is the fundamental right to freedom. The truth they have denied, is, in the language of our Declaration of Independence, "self-evident," like the fixed stars of heaven, the form and magnitude of which are the same for the naked eye of the sage.

The results to follow the repeal of the jury law, in the increase of the American slave trade, we may form some idea from a picture drawn by Mr. Justice Story, of the African trade. "We have too many negroes," proclaims his language, "from unexceptionable sources, that is, those carried on with all the ignoble ferocity, in the spirit of rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasion, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are sterner to their very mouths. (I scarcely use too bold a figure) in this strain of iniquity."

Let us see what rights and powers are conferred on every claimant of a person, as his fugitive slave, by the highest judicial tribunal of the land. The Supreme Court, in the late case of *Prigg vs. the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, have decided, that "the master has a right peaceably to take possession of him, and carry him away without any certificate, or warrant from a Judge of the District or Circuit Court of the United States, or from any magistrate of the State. Whoever seizes or obstructs him, is a wrong doer."

Mr. Justice McLean, in reply, said, (16 Peters, R. 668.) "If a master has the right to seize and remove the slave without claim, he can commit no breach of the peace by using all the force necessary to accomplish the object." And Mr. Justice Baldwin, (in Johnson vs. Tompkins and others, 1 Baldwin, R. 577,) used the following remarkable language—"It is not breach of the peace to use as much force or coercion toward the fugitive as suffice for his security; as without such force no slave can be retained. The master may also use every act, device, or stratagem to decoy the slave into his power. Ondous as these may be in their application to an odious act, they ought to be considered as for otherwise when used for a lawful and justifiable purpose."

And now let us ask, what rights will remain to the colored people of the North? According to the Supreme Court, none worth the name; but by the law of nature, all that belong to man. Deists that believe in the common law, *Sicut populus regnum est*; and that other fundamental principle, that "allegiance and protection are reciprocal;" the State is about to deny to them the right for which our ancestors both here and in England contended. *Trial by Jury* and *Habeas Corpus*, which the Constitution of the United States expressly declares shall not be suspended; and all persons thus deprived of the advantages intended to be secured by the social compact, are thrown back upon their natural, inherent, and inalienable rights. While we regard with respect the scruples of the Friends and non-resistants, we hold the defence of sacred rights to be a sacred duty; and as we doubt not there are hundreds of our colored people who, with the true spirit of American citizens, respond with their whole souls to the cry of Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death!" We command to their attention the following passage from that eminent jurist, Chancellor Kent, which they may rest satisfied is law not to be overthrown, even by the dicta of Justice Baldwin and his associates. "The municipal law of our own, as well as of every other country, has left with individuals the exercise of the natural right of self-defence, in all those cases where the law is either too feeble or too slow to stay the hand of violence. *Homicide is justifiable in every case, in which it is rendered necessary, in self-defence, against the person who comes to commit a known felony with force against one's persons, habitation or property, or against the person or property of those who stand in near domestic relations.* The right of self-defence in these cases is founded on the law of nature, and is not, and cannot be superseded by the law of society."

P. S. We leave with the deepest satisfaction, that

ix. Gibson 143.

The author of a crime is more guilty than the immediate perpetrator.

Coleridge.

From the Dublin Morning Register.  
**Loyal National Repeal Association.**

NOTE OF THANKS TO MR. TYLER, SON OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. O'Connell said—The next subject is one of broad and general interest, inasmuch as the matter I mean to propose, is a special vote of thanks to Mr. Tyler, son of the President of the United States, (cheers) for the countenance he has given to the cause of Repeal. As an American gentleman, and distinguished in society, I should not feel it my duty to move him a vote of thanks, so many others having joined in similar disapprobation. (Hear, hear.) It is in that spirit that I now move that the marked thanks of the Association be conveyed to Mr. Tyler for the sympathy which he has shown for the Irish people in their struggle to Repeat the Union. (Loud cheers.)

Mr. Steele—As the people of America, from one end of the United States to the other, are making preparations to receive me, and as I hold myself in readiness to cross the Atlantic whenever the time shall come when my august friend O'Connell shall, in his wisdom, be of opinion that I should go aboard the steamer, perhaps it may be right that I should be the second of this resolution. (Cheers.)

The motion was then put from the chair, and carried amidst loud cheers.

ence would afterwards take place. (Hear, hear.) It is, therefore, that I want the statesmen of Europe to know that I look for reparation, not for separation, so as to make the connexion between the two countries truly perpetual. (Hear, hear.) It is in that spirit that I now move that the marked thanks of the Association be conveyed to Mr. Tyler for the sympathy which he has shown for the Irish people in their struggle to Repeat the Union. (Loud cheers.)

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**COMMUNICATIONS.**

Letter to Daniel O'Connell.

PETERBORO', April 19, 1843.

W. LLOYD GARRISON :

MY DEAR SIR—I see, by the last number of the Liberator, that you have heard of a letter, which I wrote to Mr. O'CONNELL, and that you wish to publish it in the Liberator. The letter was not written for the public eye; nevertheless, I send you a copy of it. It remains unanswered.

Your friend and brother,

GERRIT SMITH.

PETERBORO', Madison County,  
State of N. Y. U. S., July 2, 1842.

To the Right Honorable DANIEL O'CONNELL, Lord Mayor of Dublin:

HONORED AND DEAR SIR—As in the case of thousands of others, who have long admired and loved you, not only my person, but my character, and probably my name, are unknown to you. This fact lays me under great disadvantage in addressing you; and makes it presumptuous, perhaps, to assume the sentiments of the son are not disengaged or disapproved of by the parent. (Hear.) I believe the character of the American President stands highly in this respect; for one of the great things at popular elections is, that in consequence of the number of rival candidates, and of the enemies which those candidates must necessarily have, each party would be on the alert to find out every fault, which the others possessed. (Hear.) The democratic principle that so great a Catholic, as he professes to be, should lead with a Protestant for rebellion against a clergy which he must regard as "thieves and robbers, who have climbed up another way." But as he has tasted of the sweets of power, perhaps he has a kind of feeling for all who wield it.

With regard to the latter, it is singular enough

that so great a Catholic, as he professes to be, should lead with a Protestant for rebellion against a clergy which he must regard as "thieves and robbers, who have climbed up another way." But as he has tasted of the sweets of power, perhaps he has a kind of feeling for all who wield it.

With respect to the former, the Catholic countries

have little regard to the "Sabbath;" but it is found

convenient for this denomination to grasp at every opportunity to show off their *holiness*, and when they

live in countries where the Sabbath is rigidly regarded, they would out-herod Herod, in order that no one

should beat them in *reputed sanctity*. If they lived in a country exclusively Jewish, they would scrupulously abstain from pork, in order that they might

have some.

In travelling so far out of his way to attack a man who has, for years, led a forlorn hope against slavery, where *slavery exists*, O'Connell has proved that his love of clerical domination is greater than his love of liberty. It is pitiful, in the extreme!

The recent election in France was held all over the kingdom, on Sunday; and I know, from ocular demonstration, that in South America the Catholic

churches care little or nothing for Sunday. No doubt

Massachusetts hastens to redeem her ecclesiasts from every stain, and that meeting-houses may

be closed on the Sabbath, in the interest of the

slave. (Hear, hear.)

Yours, &c.

WM. COMSTOCK.

Letter from Henry C. Wright.

MANCHESTER, March 26, 1843.

DEAR GARRISON:

Last week I lectured in Wigan, a town 20 miles North of West from Manchester, containing about 50,000 inhabitants, and also several towns in the vicinity. Multitudes employed in hand-linen weaving, and in coal mines

Lips, Collins, Boys, Remond, Douglass, respectively adopted, exists in the United States, all the Divine laws, &c., apologetics for, or testimony against, it gives the lie to his Republicanism, demonstrated, that in its prescriptions, and has infused, and promulgated what odious ultimate offspring:

recognize no person as a national citizen, who afford for its removal, an accumulated evil

and promises to be addressed to the break his chains, under that measure, or to his land of freedom, and homes for all

their utmost efforts to

air duty in his country.

an unfeigned delight,

from the Eastern

reign of a malignant rebuke of

our colored

and to the extent, more remarkable

in nature, or more honored to those by whom it was selected.

It only shews that the Hay-

vention in Hayti, by which Boyer is de-

clared, appears to be complete.

the people over usurpation and

commemorated with scarcely the shedding of a

single drop of blood, and an agree-

ment with

parties in atrocious

treason, and should be immediately ex-

ecuted.

That the COMPACT WHICH EXISTS

BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH IS A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH MURDER, AND A TESTIMONY AGAINST GOD AND MAN, GIVES THE LIE TO HIS REPUBLICANISM, AND SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY EXECUTED.

Resolution adopted at the annual meeting

of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in Fane-

uil, January 26, 1843.

and terror into families; and having entered into this path of tyranny, has given himself over to the most odious infamy, making himself the only source of power in the country; and as, in fine, by profound ignorance of the rights of man, and bad faith in international relations, he has compromised the Haitian character and the Haitian honor, and disgraced the national independence:

And whereas, the republic, having been put in peril by such a state of things, the people, desirous of a reform which they have many times sought in vain by their legitimate organs, are compelled to take up arms to revoke the constitutional compact to which they had consented, and reassume the exercise of their sovereignty:

And whereas, all those who have co-operated in the acts of usurpation and tyranny of President Boyer, or who, by disloyal action or perfidious counsels, have seconded his despotic measures, whether as public functionaries, or as executors of his orders, ought to be deemed his accomplices:

WHEREFORE, it is ordered and declared as follows:

ARTICLE I. General Jean Pierre Boyer has forfeited the office of President of Haiti, being guilty of High Treason.

ART. II. Joseph Balthazar Ingaine, General of Division and Secretary General; Alexis Beaupain Ardoine, ex-Senator; Charles Célestin Ardoine, Administrator of the Arrondissement des Cayes; Jean Jacques St. Victor Pol, General of Brigade and Commander of the Arrondissement of Port-au-Prince; Jerome Maximilien Borgella, General of Division, Commandant of the Arrondissement des Cayes, and for some time past, of partisans, or of partisan rivalry, but without material benefit. May they go on in the spirit of improvement, until they shall be deservedly rewarded, and crowned with every

honour and every laurel.

It is not only shewn that the Haytian revolution in Port-au-Prince, giving rapid advances in republican reform, demonstrates their right to be acknowledged as an old and independent republic. In this instance, they are equally entitled to be acknowledged as a nation, and to be admitted into the family of nations.

They are clearly in the right, and therefore

worthy of the congratulations of the friends of humanity throughout the world.

The struggle has been one of falsehood, or of partisan rivalry, but

without material benefit. May they go on in the spirit of improvement, until they shall be deservedly rewarded, and crowned with every

honour and every laurel.

ART. III. All the individuals comprised in the first and second Articles shall be delivered up to a national jury, and judged in the form that may hereafter be determined.

ART. IV. All authority ceasing before the will of the sovereign people, there shall be provided all public functions, of which the utility shall be recognized, in such form as shall be prescribed by the new Constitution.

ART. V. Meanwhile, the citizens in actual performance of civil or military duty, shall continue to exercise their functions under the authority of the popular government, until removal or confirmation.

ART. VI. The present Act shall be printed, read and placarded throughout the whole territory of the Republic.

Done at Aux Cayes, the 10th of March, 1843—the 40th year of the independence of Haiti, and the first of the regeneration.

C. HERARD, Senior, Executor-in-chief.

HERARD DUMESLE, Commander-in-chief of the Staff of the popular Army.

[The editor of the Jamaica Morning Journal (a colored gentleman) alludes to this revolution in the following spirited and appropriate manner:

'The French revolution of 1830, the wisest on the records of history, was productive of millions of victims to France. The revolution of Hayti of the 14th March, 1843, while it did not exceed 250,000, was conducted with nothing to regret but the death of sixty unfortunate men, at once fanatic and blind to the progress and the prospects of the country. There is nothing more brilliant in the world; these facts are worth more, which proclaim more than empty phrases. For our parts, who had always for our device "Liberty and Toleration," we say to our detractors, "Long live the liberty of the Press," reserving for our single arm of defence but the overpowering influence of reason. The progress of the new republic, with the all-powerful aid of Almighty God, combined with the energy of its inhabitants, will, we trust, enable us to oppose an ample force to all the combinations of our enemies. Let them echo the cry of "Civil War," as long as they will; the Haytians more wise, will re-echo, "Civilization and Advancement."

**Letter of Gerrit Smith to Daniel O'Connell.**

At my request, Mr. Smith has kindly sent me the Letter, which he has written to Mr. O'Connell, relative to the celebrated Address to the Slaves in the United States, and to the character of American abolitionists generally. In it I perceive a generous and voluntary tribute to my personal integrity and uprightness, which I would omit, if it were not to reply to an extraordinary attack upon my religious sentiments, by Mr. O'Connell, at a meeting of the Loyal Repeal Association in Dublin. It appears that no answer has been received by Mr. Smith. It is possible, but not probable, that Mr. O'Connell never received it. If he did receive it, it is possible, but not probable, that, in the multiplicity of his engagements, he forgot to read it. If he read it, it is possible, but it does not now seem probable, that he wrote an answer to it. He certainly cannot be ignorant either of the name or character of Gerrit Smith, nor deem him unworthy of respectful consideration. The language of the Letter is courteous and flattering to the great Irish Repealer, who, in our judgment, cannot refuse to make the amende honorable, without inflicting a serious injury on the cause of equal rights in this country, and subjecting himself to the charge of injustice. In former years, he has eloquently vindicated the character of the American abolitionists from the aspersions of their enemies; and surely, at this late period, it is not for him to receive as truths, the falsehoods which those enemies still continue to circulate against them, for the purpose of perpetuating that system which Mr. O'Connell has exerted himself so mightily to overthrow, wherever it is upheld on the face of the globe.

It cannot be disguised, that, since the Repeal movement has obtained countenance and aid in the slaveholding States of this Union, the tone of Mr. O'Connell on the subject of American slavery has perceptibly lost its natural vigor. True, he has on several occasions avowed that he cherishes as much abhorrence of the detestable system now as heretofore; true, he yet declares that he sympathizes with those who are struggling to crush it by moral instrumentalities; but the thunder and lightning which once characterized his indignation and the enthusiasm which he once exhibited whenever speaking of the American abolitionists, appear greatly impaired in intensity and force at the present time. The contributions to the Repeal fund, from the South, have not yet amounted to a large sum; but they have generally, if not invariably, been accompanied with earnest remonstrances, on the part of the pseudo "repealers," against the anti-slavery denunciations of Mr. O'Connell. These have not closed his lips, but they have served to show, by what he has since uttered, that, while he does not hate slavery less, he loves Repetition more.

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**Poor Eye-sight.** Reader, if you have ever had a violent inflammation of the eyes, from erysipelas, you remember that, at that time, you found both reading and writing to be a torture. Such has been our condition for the last ten days. We hope soon to have a clear vision, as the loss of eye-sight at once throws an editor hors du combat.

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[The letter of our distinguished English con-

Spirit-Culture.

We have received a neatly printed pamphlet of 40 pages, entitled "The Law and Method in Spirit-Culture; an Interpretation of A. Bronson Alcott's Idea and Practice at the Masonic Temple, Boston; by Charles Lane." We have not yet been able to peruse it, but have no doubt that Mr. Lane has very successfully and ably performed his part as an Interpreter. He is the author of the suggestive and valuable Essays, that have appeared in the Liberator, on "A Voluntary Political Government," each one of which has been thoughtfully perused by our progressive readers. Mr. Lane has been in this country, from England, but a comparatively short period; but, during this brief space, he has contributed to various public journals, numerous essays of a remarkably pure, liberal and elevated character, on subjects indissolubly connected with the common good of mankind. He is manifestly one of the singular few, (few in contrast with the vulgar many) who, in judging of Right and Duty, of Humanity and Love, know nothing of latitude or longitude, of geographical divisions or national preferences; but whose philanthropy is as expansive as the atmosphere, and who recognize in every member of the human race the same divine image, and the same "one blood" relationship. The pamphlet before us has been reprinted from the Dial, for April, and treats on Inspiration, Practice, Development, Impression, Conversation, Public Judgment, Parental Feeling, Oanipresence of Spirit, The Inspired Teacher, Prayer, Conscience, and Worship.—

Mr. Alcott, he says—"Not to mention others, Alcott, almost utterly neglected by contemporaries, must seek his true appreciation beyond the great waters; and in the quietest nook in Old England behold the first substantial admission of his claim to be considered the exponent of a divinely inspired idea." It is more than probable—it is quite certain, that Mr. Alcott has been widely misapprehended, and in very numerous instances baselessly misrepresented as a Teacher and Philanthropist. His mode of reasoning is somewhat peculiar to himself, and his use of language too mystical and occult for those who are long accustomed to him to understand. A small band of patriots resolved to do all they could for the sake of their country, and to assist in the regeneration of the South; Jean Baptiste Riché, General of Brigade; Louis Mesmin Seguy Villevalois, Senator; are accused as accomplices of President Boyer, and traitors to the country.

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[The letter of our distinguished English con-

The Spirit of Caste.

It will be seen by the following letter from Mr. Remond, that the execrable and cruel prejudice, which has long ruled the affairs of the Eastern Railroad, in regard to color, is still rife, at least on one section of it. None can feel the effects of this prejudice more severely than our brother, whose keen sensibilities are often deeply wounded by it. Let the boors who, in this case, have outraged the feelings of one whose moral and intellectual exaltation is so far beyond their conception as to secure for him an introduction to the most choice society of that description in England, but on -o'clock their time is short; a public sentiment is fast growing on this subject, which they cannot withstand. Unless they relent speedily, the State will be swiftly upon them, and they will not have even the Church for company.

The eloquent resolution on this subject, passed at the recent Dedham meeting, (see preceding page,) it thus appears, is a little premature; but we trust its truthfulness will soon be realized, to its greatest extent, for freedom is advancing, and will yet outstrip all others friendly to a reform which will in its operation benefit all classes, and head even an Eastern Railroad locomotive.

SALEM, April 25th, 1843.

MY DEAR FRIEND :

For more than three months, I have subjected myself to very heavy expenses by taking a private conveyance over the Salem and Boston road, rather than be driven into the designation of Jim Crow cars; and at the same time liable to insult and outrage from the special hirelings of a few narrow-minded, purse-prudish aristocratic stockholders and directors in Salem; when about three weeks since, I was informed the train from Portland, Portsmouth, &c. came through without a Jim Crow car upon it, and that in future no distinction would be made; and during the last week it was intimated to me that the same rules would be observed on the Salem accommodation trains; and since that time, I have had occasion to pass over the road a number of times, and meeting with no difficulty, took it for granted that the barbarian practice was indeed abandoned—for the credit of the town, as well as for the Christian name and professions of the inhabitants; but to the common disgrace of Salem, and shame to the managers of the Salem and Boston department of this road, my informants have been deceived; in proof of which, I need only state, that having purchased my ticket this morning, I got

## POETRY.

For the Liberator.

## THE MODERN HEIR OF LINN.

My son, may God be with you, for I must now depart; Then hear my dying counsels, and bind them to your heart; These large and fair possessions, unumbered all and free, Give you, and you only—for you are all to me.

My son, this world deceitful, is ready to ensnare; Of all her false allurements, I warn you to beware; But, ah! these words are useless—I read it in your eye—

Long days are doomed to riot, long nights to revel high.

Then hear me, and remember, when you have spent my gold,

When all your means are squandered, when all your lands are sold,

When all the friends desert you that reviled on your store,

When your guilty folly most bitterly deplore—

Remember then this packet, I now to you confide,

And bear it to the hermit, on yonder mountain's side;

To him, and his assistance, your wrecked affairs command—

He long has been your father's, go make him too your friend.

What may be done to help you, the hermit best can tell;

God be with you in trouble—my dearest son, farewell!

Thus when the sire had spoken, he yielded up his breath,

And Aldervale's late owner lay cold and stiff in death.

A lengthened line of mourners the funeral pomp displayed;

With downcast looks walked Wellborn, in sable deep arrayed;

And when the train, returning, had swept the mourner by,

His heart was swelled with triumph, though tears were in his eye.

Ere many days were over, the young man's tears were dried;

Ere many weeks were counted, the sables laid aside; Flowed high the sparkling goblet, the dice-box shook again,

And Aldervale's rich owner was all himself again.

In long and late carousals, he drank the brightest wine Of Burgundy's rich vineyards, and of the island vine; The ears were bent by hundreds, yet with the spendthrift heir,

Who paid or lent the money, was neither thought nor care.

No fair and wealthy lady could his attention win From Graspall's brazen daughter, the maiden of the inn; The landlord took the money, the damsel filled the cup—

The broad domains of Wellborn were quickly swallowed up.

With gathered force, descending, how swiftly moves the ball!

Down to the pit of ruin, how rapid is the fall!

The gallant and the gentle on Wellborn ceased to smile;

Consented he with ruffians, the vilest of the vile.

He who had lately reviled on wine of purest strain, And called the richest vintage of Xeres and Champaña,

Now drank the vile potations the country still supplied—

The naked hook he swallowed, with nought the point to hide.

Four years were past in revel, and all his wealth was spent;

Nor knew the wretched spendthrift to whom his substance went;

He wandered poor and ragged where he had ruled before—

The landlord and his daughter both drove him from the door.

As he in hunger wandered, exposed to rain and wind, His father's dying counsel came suddenly to mind; He took the hermit's letter, and, rising from despair, He sought the distant mountain, to find a shelter there. He travelled to a fountain full flowing to the brink— A damsel stood beside it, and offered him to drink; Her face was stained with freckles, her eyes were turned askew;

She seemed, in form and features, most loathsome to the view.

The cup was purest crystal, yet still the foulest draught It seemed to the young spendthrift, that ever he had quaffed;

She answered to his question, 'My sire doth yonder dwell—'

I am his only daughter, the maiden of the well.'

Young Wellborn, from her turning, walked toward the mountain cave;

The old man half way met him, and surely welcome gave;

While they were long conversing was Wellborn ill at ease;

At last spoke out the hermit, 'My terms with you are these—'

You first must sign this promise, by which you do agree,

Till one year's end in service, to bind yourself to me;

And then wed my daughter, and live with her till death—'

Young Wellborn dropped his eyelids, and groaned, and gasped for breath.

He thought such fate, however, was better than the grave,

So signed away his freedom, and made himself a slave;

The hermit gave him shelter, and garb of rustic wear;

His bed was of the rye straw, his food the coarsest fare.

A long and weary twelve-month he labored on the soil,

Each day his food less bitter, less irksome grew his toil;

At last the hermit called him, and to the summit led, Showed him his late possessions, and thus to him he said:

Your labors now are ended, my favor you have won;

I'll do as was intended for your good father's son;

Whatever was your father's, I now return to you—

With land, and hall, and fortune, begin thy life anew.

He gave him bond and mortgage, and many a tie died:

Said he, 'You're now young Wellborn, from all embracement freed;

But I have still a question, which, answer as you may, Will marry with my daughter—say, Wellborn, ay or nay?'

In fairest light before them stood forth the blooming maid,

Not too exposed her beauty, nor flauntingly arrayed;

She cast her bright eye downward, with mild and modest look,

While o'er her faultless forehead the water lily shook.

Stood Wellborn fixed in wonder, in admiration new,

On graces thrice enchanting that opened on his view;

His stately form was shaken, his swelling heart beat high,

And all a lover's rapture was kindled in his eye.

'I'll be again a beggar,' the anxious lover said,

'Return again to labor, and earn my daily bread;

Take back your fruitful acres—take back the wealth you gave—'

Give me your peerless daughter, and I'll be still your slave.'

They left their humble dwelling, beneath the forest tall; They left the lonely mountain, for Wellborn's ancient hall; They travelled toward his mansion, with seeming feeble gait— Each wave in rage enveloped, a suit of bridal state. They to the gaudy tavern in humble guise advanced; Their eyes, as seeking shelter, in fearful wonder glanced; They begged within the threshold to rest themselves awhile—

'I know you not,' said Graspall, 'whence come you, jewels vise?'

Young Wellborn dropt his tatters, and raised his lofty brow,

Then loudly spoke, and boldly— Ho, landlord, know thou now?

He stared at them astonished, and straight his visage fell—

He knew the mountain hermit and maiden of the well.

Of Aldervale, the owner, one more the silence broke;

The landlord and his daughter he fiercely thus began to speak—

Ye ponders to my vices, know too that here again I'm lord of hill and valley, of forest and plain.

None here again shall ever, to quench their burning thirst,

Drink from her cup of madness the poison draught accused;

You and your jilting daughter, hence! speed your selves away!

And leave the lands of Wellborn forever and a day!

Farmington, N. Y. 1843.

## CHRISTIAN REFORM.

For the Liberator.

## A Voluntary Political Government.

Many readers, probably, will think that so long a note as my last was not useful to prove the positions claimed in it. But these friends may keep in mind the fact, that there is a large portion of society, that does not yet see how easy is the transition from despotism to freedom, from monarchical to human government. Almost *a priori*, it might be asserted that all the operations which are limited to the township might be committed at once to the voluntary principle; therefore, no very strong arguments are needed for its proof. If the neighborhood will not take care of itself, either on the ground of selfish regard, or on the superior principle of the common good, there must certainly be so great a defect of heart and head, that such individuals ought not longer to be trusted with the management of their own affairs; and still less should they be permitted to a participation of authority over other men.

But as respects the collective body of towns, or that association which forms the State, a different course of reasoning may be considered necessary. Not that this is so very certain; for it might be concluded that if each township provided for its separate wants, the wants of the whole would be provided for, and no further steps need be taken. And why this should not be done, and the whole costly and immoral machinery at once swept away by a godlike reliance on man, I know not. If gold may be bought so dearly, that is to say, at a greater outlay of gold than they themselves have, it would be expedient to let the people buy for themselves, and then let the townships, the cities, the States, and the nation, pay for the rest.

My feeling upon the subject of these so called improvements is, that they are no real advantage to human welfare. I see that if science could enable us, in one month, to compass all the sea and land on the globe, we should compass no more virtue or happiness. On the contrary, in most countries, the march of manufacturing and travelling skill has been the march of misery. However, it is useful to meet the popular opinion where it is, and I must therefore show that these public works could be erected and maintained without a forced government. Suppose it should be deemed desirable, by parties interested, that a railway should be constructed over a given space; and further, that they have convinced the capitalists that money might be advantageously laid out thereon, then there remains nothing but to persuade the landlords to sell portions of their land for a fair equivalent. If they will not consent, the road may take another direction, where the proprietors are willing, or the execution may be deferred until reasoning, or the opinion of their neighbors, has accomplished their consent.—If the work is clearly a public advantage, there will be no dissentions, or, if one should be churlish, public opinion will sustain the project against him, and justify it, as it does now the proceedings of the company.—To this end, every disputed point on such questions has now to be brought, and it would be as efficacious without the government as with it. In many cases, a legislative enactment, by laying down a public compact to certain forms, is found so farre that it's protection is a hindrance, and the capitalists prefer to be without it.

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